which were familiar to them from their Chaco days. The food supply obtained through cultivation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and work on nearby cattle ranches.

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena lands were held under no secure title. It is said that documents relating to land grants given to Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's grave, making evidence of ownership even more uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving settlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to make a livelihood by working on the ranches and in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana. Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused great hardships to these homeless Indians.

With the allocation of Indian lands and the establishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 and, later, Posts in all the important settlements, economic conditions began to improve. Indian lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In each village a man could obtain a lot on which he could build his house and cultivate a garden. If he wished more land he could go outside the village and use as many lots as he could effectively cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian rights were use rights only. Outside the village an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin cultivating and as long as he used this land it remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at any time he wished, after which some other Terena could begin using it. In the village an Indian could sell his house and other improvements to another Indian, but he could not sell the land on which the property stood. Sales of this type are not common, as land is still plentiful, both inside and outside most Terena villages. In spite of these restrictions the Terena are adequately protected, as only Indians can use reservation lands. An Indian from another tribe under the protection of the Government is able to settle among the Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This practice is not common, however, and is usually restricted to Indians who marry Terena women.

The land problem, although basic, was only one of the consequences of the increasing interaction

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

head of livestock with him. Later he worked on roads and with the money earned he bought more livestock and a cart. He is well acquainted with the larger towns in southern Mato Grosso. He claims that he does not make enough money from his livestock to live and has to work for the Post on occasion. 159 [231] [511]

SHOEMAKER

Feliciano de Morais was born in Miranda, his father being Portuguese and his mother Guaicurú. He married a Brazilian woman, whom he left owing to her bad conduct. He then married a Terena woman, who left him because they always quarreled about his Guaicurú ancestors, whom his wife despised. He later heard that the Guaicurú were a famous people and felt more pleased. Being married to a Terena woman gave him the right to live in Bananal. 159 563

Feliciano, his son, and two daughters, live in a stake-walled one-room house, one side opening onto a shed where he has his work bench. [342]

Feliciano learned to read and write when he was a boy. He is a Catholic, but gets on very well with the Protestants. He was trained to be a carpenter but later learned shoemaking and leatherwork. He now makes and mends shoes and repairs harness for people in the village and for people on the neighboring farms. He is quite satisfied with his life in Bananal and wants to remain. He does not associate much with the Terena because he claims they are dangerous when they get drunk. He is, however, always willing to help them by giving remedies and blessings to the sick. The Terena like him. [212] [794] [463] [282]

MASON

Domingos Verissimo Marcos, who is about 20 years of age, is the son of Terena parents. He learned to read and write at the Protestant mission school. He reads the Bible and sometimes newspapers. 159 [212] [797]

After leaving school he worked as a laborer on farms, where he learned to be a mason. For a while he worked as an assistant to Aurelio's son who is a mason in Aquidauana. At present, he is living with Domingos Miguel, the storekeeper, but intends to go out to work for a while before he marries and settles down in Bananal.

727
563

/For the role and function of the kauti or war captives in Guana society, see category 565./

/10 cont./
121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for two centuries in such close connection with the regional society that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
172 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

[648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordination to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society, as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an extent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

/11 cont./

177 But we have heard of exceptions, and among these we may in-
562 clude Marechal Rondon, who had a Terêna grandmother;
563 Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra, as comandante-geral of the Paraguayan border, lived for several years at Forte Coimbra with an Indian woman, very probably a Terêna, by whom he had children; and also, Visconde de Taunay, whose posthumously published memoirs tell how some of the best days of his life were those he spent at the time of the Paraguayan campaigns, with a Terêna Indian woman.

177 Through the last 150 years of interaction with our society,
619 /12/ the various Guaná groups melted together, and in our day there remains only one, the Terêna, who have come to gather all survivors of the tribe. Today they live as aldea Indians, fazenda Indians, city Indians, integrated into regional life as farm workers, as urban workers, sometimes as army reserve men, and even as voters. Ever less Indian. Ever more Brazilianized and, as such, at grips with the same social problems that confront the rural masses and the poorest urban populations of Mato Grosso. Yet differentiated from the average inlander and the common townsman through facing specific problems of adjustment that arise chiefly from the consciousness of a common tribal origin, from the loyalties that unite them, and from the awareness, perpetually sharpened by the regional population, that they are different.

114 I have devoted myself for several years to the study of
12/ the process of acculturation of the native populations of Brazil and of the role played by the native matrices in the formation of our people. For this reason I followed with the greatest interest the research of Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, and I was honored by the invitation to write the preface to his work. I do so with two-fold pleasure, first, in presenting an ethnologist who combines mastery and love of theory with an uncommon ability for direct observation in field research; secondly, because his book represents a significant contribution to one of the basic themes in Brazilian ethnology and is destined to

/34 cont./
fort, the Guaná maintained a special position--as can be seen from this statement by Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra: "These 600 Guaná are those who live by themselves, settled in aldeas and united into one group in the said Albuquerque ranges; and even though they are thus separate from the Uaicurús, they live ever bound to them, and sharing their lot. Some pass into the Uaicurú group, and the children that are born among them become like them (i.e., like Guaikurú--RCO)."(42) The

42. 1845:209.

chronicler shows, in the first place, the independence of the Guaná local group; in the second place, the occurrence of movements on the part of some Guaná members to Guaikurú communities, into which they end up perfectly integrated, as we can see from this other passage: "The pride and competitiveness of the Uaicurús is such, that it is instilled into the Guanás themselves as soon as they go to live with, or are born amongst, the arrogant Uaicurús, treating others with contempt, and general superiority..."(43) And as for those Guaná, already

43. Ibidem.

mentioned, who remained close to the Guaikurú but without giving up their community, here is a further observation by Almeida Serra as he tries to draw a comparison between the captives taken by the Guaikurú and the Guaná: "The captives eventually do not scorn this system (the favorable circumstances they enjoyed among the Guaikurú--RCO), but like it; only the Guaná who live apart and by themselves, and in their own ranchos and outside the Uaicurú villages, after further communication with the Portuguese, are ashamed of it...," when called "captives" by the Portuguese.(44) /35/ It is plain that,

44. 1850:372.

3:Oliveira--46 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Mbaya SK11

/40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

M 565 631

the others, Small Captains, or lower ones. The captains by blood are in the first place the cacique, the trunk of those of the parcialidade and seignior of the others.... In second place the captains by blood are all descendants and relatives of the cacique, in any line and degree; and in both sexes....The captains of the second class are all those who, at the birth of a son /child/ of the cacique, received the title in the cradle..." (1910, II:19-20). Yet, aside from this, there is nothing to indicate that the Big Captains and Small Captains of the Guaná were of the same nature as those of the Guaikurú.

G [131] [171]

G M 565 563 171

We see here that both the Guaná and the Mbayá-Guaikurú /two plates appear here/ /41/ seem to combine both forms of stratification noted by Thurnwald: social and ethnic, (60) which we shall discuss below.-

G M [113]

60. "Die Menschliche Gesellschaft /Human Society/," in Herbert Baldus, Dicionário de Etnologia e Sociologia, /Dictionary of Ethnology and Sociology/, note, "Estratificação Social /Social Stratification/."

[Text continues on p. 47]

/42 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

563 But before we analyze the mechanism of "status" acquisition or vertical mobility in Guaná society, we shall attempt to elucidate further the type of ethnic stratification revealed by the presence of the Kauti.

178 563 727 The first type of stratification established in the old Guaná communities must have resulted from the domination of this large agriculturalist group over groups of individuals captured from other tribes, /43/ who fitted into the Guaná social system as captives (Kauti). Besides, this type of ethnic stratification was most probably already familiar to the Guaná even [[71]] before they settled in the Chaco. Max Schmidt, for example, in his studies on the Aruák groups, shows that such a stratification appeared among them rather regularly and, in a certain sense, as a necessity for their expansion. (66) This ethnic

/21

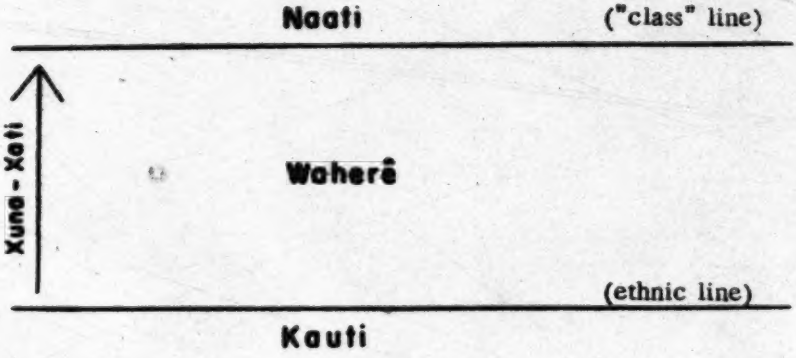
66. "It would be interesting to know by what means Aruák society managed to obtain for itself, on the basis of its cultivation of the soil, the position of seignior over another class of the population, which submits to laboring for the interest of its masters, helping them in the obtaining of the necessary means of production. In order to create, under the conditions now prevailing, a subordinate ethnic stratum, the Aruák tribes would have to fulfill two conditions. They would have to establish relations with the population of neighboring tribes and, then, these relations would have to be managed in such a way as to

/45 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

535 565 [563] It followed, furthermore, that for these Kauti, given their different ethnic origin, this meant, above all, their incorporation into the local group as free men.(71) The basic condition for upward social

71. Cf. Oberg, 1948:285.

ascension, without any doubt, was heroism in fights, which was rewarded with the title Xuna-Xati. Thus, it is made clear that Xuna-Xati could



[563]

Figure 1. Threefold, asymmetrical structure combining a social and an ethnic stratification.

not /46/ have been a stratum of the same nature as the Naati and Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txaná, or, even, similar to the Kauti, as can be seen in Figure 1.

616 [565] But the Guaná communities seem not to have been limited to being stratified into endogamous strata, to judge by the information we have on the Terêna of old: there was, also, a dual division, i.e., two moieties, also endogamous, divided the group into Xumonó and Sukirikioné

Traditional Culture

147 cont./

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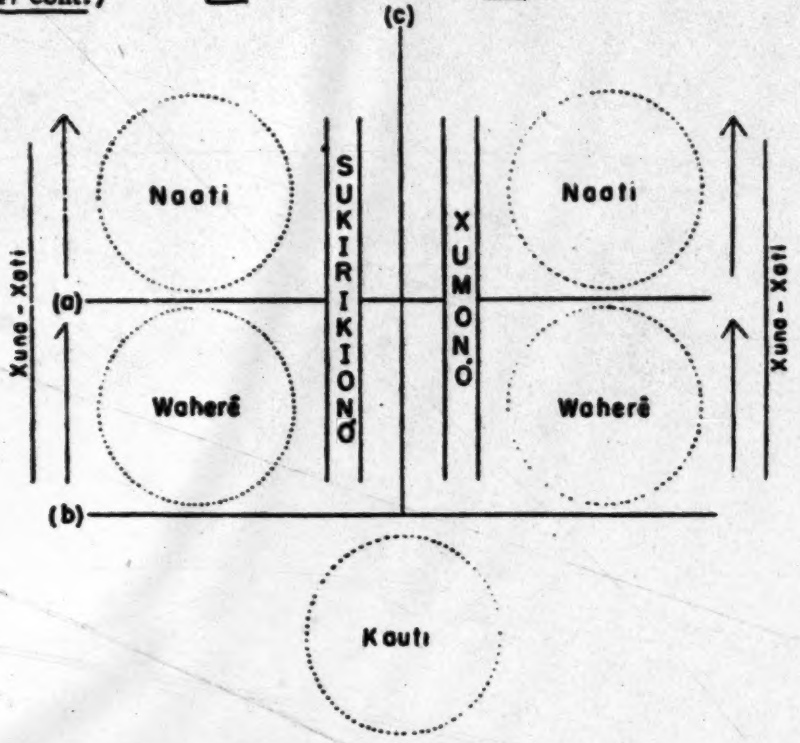

Figure 2. Schematization of the Terêna-Guaná social structure, formed by the superimposition of two substructures: 1) the terms written horizontally represent the threefold and asymmetric substructure (see Figure 1); the terms written perpendicularly in capital letters represent the twofold and symmetric substructure. The dividing lines (a), (b) and (c) correspond to a compartmentalization into five parts or five possible marriage situations, represented by the dotted circles. The dynamism of the threefold structure is due to the Xuna-Xati, noted perpendicularly and with arrows indicating vertical mobility.

616 Cohishotiquipahũ...." (72) By plumbing the oral tradition of the
173
114
[62]

72. 1928:109.

Terêna, especially of the /48/ Buriti, Bananal, Ipegue, and Cachoeirinha local groups, we were able to corroborate this

/133 cont./

3. A third order of convergent factors can be found on the plane of family organization, through interethnic marriage and the compadrio system. In the last chapter we saw the high index of interethnic mestizos in the cities, in relation to the index of intertribal mestizos. On comparing these indices with those obtained for the aldea population (particularly, Cachoeirinha), we found that the proportion was reversed in such a way that it led us to diagnose the present tendency of marriage in the urban zones. What is seen is a tendency on the part of the urbanized population to contract unions with individuals of another ethnic origin /etnia/, especially on the part of the women who regard a "Purutuya" husband as a means of bettering their pattern of living. In the interviews carried out in the cities and in the aldeas suburban to them, such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, and Moreira (as in Limão Verde as well, but because of its multiple ethnic composition), one finds this expectation on the woman's part, nurtured by such conclusive examples as the occurrence of satisfactory marriages made by their women friends. When it comes to men it seems to be more difficult, and even when a marriage occurs, it is nearly always contracted with a colored woman. It cannot be denied that barriers created by prejudice make interethnic unions difficult, especially when the men are Indians. But, on the other hand, and this is what we must bear in mind, the Terêna man does not improve his situation by marrying a "civilizada," regardless of her color. (203) On the contrary. Generally this

203. The only woman of another ethnic origin for whom the young Terêna shows obvious enthusiasm is a Japanese. On the basis of the experiences of some /Terêna men/ who worked in Japanese

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [348]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

[241]

*177 582 563 369 562 [371] situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 608 557 The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Pururuya" who enjoy privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

[175] [851]

/134 cont./

Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. At present, with the probable exception of the population that still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

> 204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

G /141 cont./
*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
555 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
[82] what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself,
[369] such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
[167] to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and
work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility)
appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change
of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it
might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such
a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of
Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always
yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
G [464] group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
[167] and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his
aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

G *177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
B 563 wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a
sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
G [191] cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for
the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent,
while at the same time they dress better and are practically
undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
G [142] classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

G 563 104

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling

/142 cont./

G 563 104

into a tautology. We wish thereby to make it clear that the (interethnic) mestizos referred to so far still maintain the same style of life and the same group consciousness that characterize the "biologically pure" Terêna. Despite cross-breeding, they continue to be Terêna and to be acknowledged as such by the community.

G *177 563 369 D 563 G [197]

claims the condition of descent from Indians but, on the contrary, shows great contempt for the "bugre" /"wild Indian"/--the term by which the non-native population pejoratively calls the Indians of the region. But the aldea Terêna, for the most part, speak badly and with an accent, aside from dressing in a more rustic way, whether they are men or women. This makes them easy to identify wherever they go, making it possible for the "bolicheiros." (208) for example, to wait on

208. Cf. note 141.

them always /143/ last and not infrequently unwillingly, in flagrant discrimination. Many times there have been cases of unwarranted attacks on groups of individuals while making purchases in the cities. One of them, with serious consequences, occurred in Miranda, involving a Terêna family from Cachoeirinha and a group of city policemen: the chief victim says that he was standing on a sidewalk, along with his son and other companions, when two or three soldiers came up to them and insulted them; following the reaction of his son, although it was a timid one, the policemen attacked him, dispersing the group with shots; one of these shots hit him, making him fall to the ground with a leg wound. This cost him

/143 cont./

some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I., which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without any positive results, according to the information we got. This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside his aldea, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discriminatory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere appearance of the Indian, especially the aldea Indian, makes him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority group.

Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable to the Terêna today, in whatever situation he is found: it facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not speak Portuguese. In these aldeas, there are many old people who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they lived at a time when the relations of the community with the Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom, though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15 and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their relations with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru in Lalima, or the Kaiwá in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

/149 cont./

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as belonging to a specific ethnic group, as proved by the ease with which its members were identified by our informants in Aldeinha, when they gave us the total of the Terêna population living on the fazendas of the município of Aquidauana. (Cf. p. 174-176.) This, however, does not exclude assimilation into the rural neo-Brazilian population, of successive generations of interethnic mestizos, through the fazendas, which always functioned as agencies of culture change.

*[177]
[563]

*177 enjoying all of the advantages heralded by urban life; joining
369 the national system of stratification, the detribalized Terêna
565 begin to face those same difficulties that are common to the
poorer classes of the regional population. If we add "class
[563] barriers" to "ethnic barriers," the result is a limitation of
[571] associative life so as to reduce to an extraordinary degree their field of operation in the national society (rural or urban) and deters their assimilation.

[361] The most important consequence of the existence of these barriers is the precarious settlement in the cities and even on the fazendas of the great majority of the detribalized Terêna.

*177 A contributing factor to this, although we cannot specify to
369 what degree, are the difficulties that the Terêna meet in form-
582 ing families outside the aldeas. The reduction of the marriage
562 market, due to the lesser possibility of intra- or intertribal
563 marriage, leads the young Terêna male (more than the young girl) to seek his bride in the aldeas. On the one hand, due to the aspiration of the detribalized Terêna girls to marry a

/149 cont./

*177 "Purutuya," as we saw in paragraph 3 in the pages devoted to
369 convergent factors; on the other hand, due to the difficulty
582 encountered by the Terêna male in winning a non-Indian woman.
562 The existing "racial" prejudice (far more /150/ active in the
563 "Purutuya" woman), combined with the prospect of a low standard of living, practically prevents interethnic marriage, when the suitor is Indian. While it is true that the occurrence of interethnic marriage has favored assimilation, to the point of our classifying it as one of the convergent factors, it is also true that it covers only one populational category, namely, the female sex. The marriageable male population is compelled to remain connected as much as possible with their communities of origin, in order to insure themselves wives. One should also consider the expectation of parents (when both are Terêna) that their sons or daughters will marry individuals
[126] of their own ethnic group. This leads these families--especially those formed in the aldeas--to exercise some pressure not only on their sons but also on their daughters, to maintain regular relations with the local group, where they will undoubtedly find their spouses. This pressure, however, can be understood here as a way of insuring spouses for their sons (or daughters) without indicating necessarily any prejudice against the "Purutuya": from the cases studied and the testimonies gathered, it may be concluded that as a rule they are quite pleased with interethnic marriage, especially when it improves the situation of their children and of themselves.

*177 Before we undertake--in conclusion--a recapitulation
182 of the principal points of this work, it will be fitting to show how
571 these convergent factors operate in the assimilation process.
[156] The idea is fully acceptable that from the mutual action of contrary factors (convergent associated with divergent ones), there emerge certain mechanisms whose consequences in the individual are uncertainty, a plurality of objectives, ambivalence in the evaluation of persons of his own group, etc., etc....
If we add to this the breakdown of the family, or the breaking

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically thetir Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.[7] The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the presence of prisioners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[7] The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to *process*, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to *state* or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

a subordinated ethnic strata, the Arawak tribes would have had to meet two conditions. They had to enter into relationships with neighboring tribes and, next, these relationships had to be manipulated in such a way that they resulted in a state of dependence" (1917, Cap. III). If this did not happen with the Terena (or with the Guaná as a whole), since they had learned from the Mbayá-Guaikuru more efficient methods of capture (of Txamakoko, Txikito, Guató, etc., individuals),[8] they at least maintained a form of social organization that included the integration of prisioners of war —and their descendants— into the groups as laborers.

The consequence of this situation of dependence in Terena social structure was the creation of assymetrical relationships between this Arawak group and the Kauti (the Txané name used to designate the "captives" obtained in war or by the sorties organized for this purpose). It is true that these Kauti were not always best employed in agricultural work, since many of them came from tribes that subsisted on hunting and gathering techniques exclusively. These Kauti were assigned to less technical tasks or even used as domestic help. If such chroniclers as Taunay (1931 : 21) or Castelnau (1949 : 247) give a true picture, the treatment accorded the Kauti was the most benign possible, indicating more of a protective attitude than an exploitive one. For an agricultural people such as the Terena, the Kauti had little economic significance. They represented more a source of prestige (political, and only secondarily economic), not only for the in group, but principally in intertribal relations with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, their neighbors and allies. These latter made greater use of their "captives", also finding in them an important source for population increase, needed because of the customs of infanticide and abortion which increased sharply following the Spanish conquest of the Chaco. Although the Terena practised infanticide, it never reached the proportions it did among the Mbayá-Guaikuru, and especially among the Kadiwéu. Probably the place given to the Kauti in Terena society would correspond roughly to that accorded strangers, ethnically different and, as a consequence, treated with a certain indifference and as objects of trade, i. e., to be calculated as goods in tribal commerce (Taunay, 1931 : 21). Yet it is a fact that the Kauti, as a "class", were integrated into Terena social structure, since the structure provided the means

[8] Words from the Indian language have been transcribed according to the convention of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, as published in the *Revista de Antropologia* Vol. II, N° 2, December, 1954. This convention attempted to mediate the problems of accurate transcription and usual lack of phonetic type fonts. The only symbols that are somewhat unusual are x=sh, tx=tsh, ch Stress is written only when it falls on a syllable other than that stressed under normal Portuguese usage.